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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BEIJING 029707

DEPT PASS TO HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OREP, PREL, PARM, PHUM, CH
SUBJECT: CODEL GLICKMAN AUGUST 17 MEETING WITH CHINESE
FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: HUMAN RIGHTS AND NONPROLIFERATION FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN THE AUGUST 17 MEETING BETWEEN A CODEL LED BY HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DAN GLICKMAN (D-KS) AND CHINESE VICE PREMIER AND FOREIGN
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MINISTER QIAN QICHEN. THE CODEL MADE IT CLEAR THE U.S. WOULD NOT CHANGE ITS CONCERN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS, AND CHINA COULD HELP DEFUSE THIS ISSUE BY TAKING CONCRETE STEPS, SUCH AS ALLOWING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS OR OTHER HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS TO VISIT CHINESE PRISONS. THE CODEL ALSO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NONPROLIFERATION IN THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, POINTING OUT THAT WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS, SUCH AS CHINA'S REPORTED SALE OF M-11 MISSILES TO PAKISTAN, WERE IN NEITHER THE U.S. NOR CHINA'S INTERESTS.

3. ON NORTH KOREA, THE FOREIGN MINISTER ASSURED THE CODEL THAT CHINA WOULD NOT PROVIDE ANY NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY TO NORTH KOREA AND THAT IT WAS

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"UNTHINKABLE" FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO EXIST ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. LIKE OTHER CHINESE OFFICIALS MEETING WITH CODELS DURING THE PAST WEEK, THE FOREIGN MINISTER RAISED THE MUCH-PUBLICIZED "YIN HE" INCIDENT, THE CHINESE SHIP THE U.S. SUSPECTS IS CARRYING CHEMICAL WEAPON PRECURSORS TO IRAN, STATING THAT CHINA WAS NOT AFRAID OF AN INSPECTION OF THE SHIP'S CARGO AS U.S. INTELLIGENCE ON THE "YIN HE" WAS INACCURATE. HE SAID THE RESULTS OF THE INSPECTION WOULD PUT THE U.S. IN AN "AWKWARD " POSITION. END SUMMARY.

4. A CODEL LED BY HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN REP. DAN GLICKMAN (D-KS), AND INCLUDING REP. JAMES BILBRAY (D-NV), REP. NORMAN DICKS (D-NM), REP. NANCY PELOSI (D-CA) AND REP. RICHARD DURBIN (D-IL), THEIR SPOUSES AND STAFF, THE AMBASSADOR, EMBOFF

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(NOTETAKER) AND EMBASSY INTERPRETER MET AUGUST 17 WITH CHINESE VICE PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MEMBERS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (HOST), INCLUDING THE ORGANIZATION'S PRESIDENT, LIU SHUQING.

U.S.- CHINA RELATIONS

5. REP. GLICKMAN BEGAN BY INTRODUCING HIMSELF AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CODEL, ALL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE "LOOKING AT THE WORLD IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA" ON A TRIP THAT ALSO INCLUDED JAPAN, KOREA AND HONG KONG. MAKING THE POINT THAT ASIA DESERVED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION FROM THE U.S. BECAUSE OF ITS INCREASING IMPORTANCE, ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY, REP. GLICKMAN BRIEFLY APPRECIATED THE STRENGTHENING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS WHICH HAD HELPED ACCELERATE THE END OF THE COLD WAR. DESPITE THIS RELATIONSHIP, THERE WERE SEVERAL AREAS OF CONCERN. HOWEVER, REP. GLICKMAN BELIEVED THAT, WITH "PROPER AND HONEST" DIALOGUE, CHINA AND THE U.S. COULD WORK THROUGH THEIR DIFFERENCES AND BUILD ON THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP TO BENEFIT BOTH THE AMERICAN AND CHINESE PEOPLE.

6. QIAN REPLIED THAT ALL THE CODELS VISITING CHINA AT THIS TIME WERE RAISING THE SAME CONCERNS AND HE WAS NATURALLY VERY MUCH AWARE OF THESE ISSUES. HE SAID HE

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AGREED WITH GLICKMAN THAT THE U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP
WAS IMPROVING AND SHOULD BECOME SOUND AND HEALTHY
BECAUSE THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION, IN THE POST COLD WAR,
WAS THE FASTEST DEVELOPING REGION IN THE WORLD. QIAN
ADMITTED THAT PROBLEMS COULD NOT ALWAYS BE AVOIDED IN
RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH IT WAS
IMPOSSIBLE TO REMOVE ALL THESE PROBLEMS, QIAN HOPED
THAT THE US. AND CHINA WERE MOVING TOWARD MINIMIZING
THEIR DIFFERENCES AND THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS WOULD TRY
TO UNDERSTAND CHINA. HE SAID THAT SOME CONGRESSMAN
"STILL CREATE DIFFICULTIES," AND CREATE DIFFICULTIES
FOR THE USG AS WELL AS FOR CHINA. HE CITED THE RECENT
MURKOWSKI AMENDMENT SUBORDINATING THE AUGUST 17
COMMUNIQUE TO THE TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT AND THE HOUSE
RESOLUTION THAT "INTERFERED" WITH THE OLYMPIC
COMMITTEE'S UPCOMING DECISION ON WHERE TO HOLD THE
2000 OLYMPICS AS EXAMPLES OF "CREATING DIFFICULTIES".

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7. REP. GLICKMAN REPLIED THAT THE POINT QIAN HAD JUST
MADE ABOUT "DIFFICULTIES" WITH CONGRESS ILLUSTRATED
THAT OUR SYSTEM OF SEPARATION OF POWERS DID NOT
NECESSARILY PERMIT "NEATNESS" IN CARRYING OUT
CONGRESS' WORK. HE WAS SURE QIAN WAS AWARE OF THIS.
IN THIS CONTEXT, REP. DICKS COMMENTED THAT, ALTHOUGH
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THE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA
WERE VERY SIGNIFICANT, WHEN TAKEN IN THE BROADER
CONTEXT, THE PRESENT SITUATION
WAS FAR BETTER THAN FORMERLY WHEN THE WORLD WAS
CONSUMED BY FEAR OF A U.S.-SOVIET NUCLEAR
CONFRONTATION. REP. DICKS SAID HE HAD JUST BEEN TO
KOREA AND WAS VERY MUCH AWARE OF CHINA'S CONSTRUCTIVE
ROLE IN HELPING THE U.S. AND THE REGION DEAL WITH THE
DIFFICULT NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR ISSUE.

8. QIAN REPLIED THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES, BECAUSE
OF THEIR EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH AMERICANS AND U.S.
ISSUES, COULD FULLY APPRECIATE THE AMERICAN POLICY
PROCESS. HOWEVER, HE FEARED THE ORDINARY CHINESE
WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THIS POINT, JUST
AS THE ORDINARY AMERICAN DID NOT UNDERSTAND CHINA.
QIAN SAID THE U.S. AND CHINA HAD HAD VASTLY DIFFERENT
TRADITIONS, LEADING TO DIFFERENT NATIONAL CONDITIONS,
AND BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAD TO FACE THAT REALITY.
THEREFORE, OUR TWO COUNTRIES MUST INCREASE MUTUAL
CONFIDENCE AND LEARN FROM EACH OTHER. HOWEVER, IT WAS
"IMPOSSIBLE TO SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE."

HUMAN RIGHTS

9. HUMAN RIGHTS FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN THE CODEL'S
MEETING WITH QIAN. REP. GLICKMAN RAISED THE ISSUE IN
HIS OPENING COMMENTS BY SINGLING OUT HUMAN RIGHTS AS
ONE OF THE IMPORTANT AREAS OF DISPUTE BETWEEN THE U.S.
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AND CHINA. HE UNDERLINED THE STRONG BELIEF OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OF CONGRESS THAT ALL COUNTRIES
MUST ADHERE TO INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN
RIGHTS. REP. BILBRAY POINTED OUT THAT, ON THE
QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE U.S. WOULD EVEN GO
AGAINST ITS OWN SELF INTEREST BECAUSE WE CARED FOR OUR
FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS ALL OVER THE WORLD. SAYING THAT
THIS WAS WHAT MADE US AMERICANS, REP. BILBRAY
CAUTIONED THAT WE COULDN'T CHANGE THIS CHARACTERISTIC
ANYMORE THAN THE CHINESE COULD CHANGE BEING CHINESE.
WE HAD TO FOLLOW OUR CONSCIENCES EVEN IF THE CHINESE
DIDN'T WANT US TO.

10. REP. PELOSI COMMENTED TO QIAN THAT SINCE SEEING
HIM LAST, THE U.S. HAD A NEW ADMINISTRATION WHICH HAD
MANAGED TO WORK WITH CONGRESS TO ACHIEVE AN EXTENSION
OF MFN PRIVILEGES TO CHINA. NOW, THE PRESIDENT NEEDS
HELP FROM EVERYONE IN TRYING TO MAINTAIN A MODERATE
POLICY ON CHINA. IN THIS REGARD, CHINA COULD HELP
MODERATE AMERICAN VIEWS BY WORKING WITH THE U.S. TO
TAKE STEPS TO IMPROVE CHINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD.
REP. PELOSI THEN TOLD QIAN SHE HAD WITH HER A COPY OF
A LETTER CONTAINING NAMES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS OF
CONSCIENCE IN CHINA. SHE HOPED THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT
COULD PROVIDE AN ACCOUNTING OF THESE PRISONERS AS
FURTHER EXTENSION OF MFN WAS CONDITIONAL ON IMPROVING
HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COMING YEAR. REP. PELOSI ALSO
HOPED CHINA WOULD FIND A WAY TO ALLOW THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS OR OTHER
INTERNATIONALLY-RECOGNIZED HUMANITARIAN GROUPS TO
VISIT PRISONERS IN CHINA. SHE BELIEVE THIS WOULD GO A

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LONG WAY TOWARD RESOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA. ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS
QUESTION, THE FOREIGN MINISTER DID NOT REPLY DIRECTLY
TO THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS COMMENTS BUT STATED IN
GENERAL THAT "DIFFERING CONDITIONS" IN OUR TWO
COUNTRIES CREATED DIFFERENT SITUATIONS AND THAT THERE
WAS A NEED FOR INCREASED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND
CONFIDENCE.

NONPROLIFERATION

11. REP. GLICKMAN INCLUDED NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL

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NONPROLIFERATION AS ONE OF THE MAIN ISSUES OF CONCERN
IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS. HE SAID WE HAD TO MAKE SURE
NEITHER THE U.S. NOR CHINA ENGAGED IN THE TRANSFER OF
NUCLEAR OR BIOCHEMICAL WEAPONS CAPABILITY OR OF

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MISSILE SYSTEMS, SUCH AS THE REPORTED SALE OF M-11
MISSILES TO PAKISTAN. HE STRESSED THAT IT WAS NOT IN
THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S. OR CHINA'S FOR COUNTRIES
SUCH AS PAKISTAN, NORTH KOREA OR IRAN TO HAVE NUCLEAR
OR BIOCHEMICAL WEAPONS CAPABILITY.

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12. IN THE SAME VEIN, REP. PELOSI POINTED OUT THAT CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN OVER THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS WAS EXACERBATED BY RECENT TERRORIST ACTS AGAINST THE U.S. WHILE CONGRESS WAS IN THE MOOD TO CUT THE BUDGET THESE DAYS, THEY WERE CAUTIOUS ABOUT CUTTING FUNDS RELEVANT TO FIGHTING THIS KIND OF THREAT. THIS INCLUDED CONCERN OVER PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN THE CASE OF CHINA'S REPORTED SALES OF M-11 MISSILES TO CHINA, REP. PELOSI STRESSED THE "VERY, VERY GREAT CONCERN" IN CONGRESS OVER THIS ISSUE. SHE TOLD QIAN SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED WE HAD NOT LINKED THE NONPROLIFERATION ISSUE WITH LAST JUNE'S DECISION ON EXTENDING MFN TO CHINA AND HAD NOT MADE IT A CONDITION FOR EXTENDING MFN IN 1994.

13. ON THE NORTH KOREAN PROBLEM, REP. DURBIN COMMENTED THAT ON THE ONE HAND, CHINA STATED IT DID NOT INTEND TO INTERFERE WITH NORTH KOREA'S INTERNAL POLICIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, CHINA SAID IT WAS CONCERNED ABOUT NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR CAPABILITY AND WORRIED ABOUT NORTH KOREA BECOMING A THREAT TO ASIA AND TO THE WORLD. REP. DURBIN SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT CHINA COOPERATE IN TRYING TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE.

14. QIAN REPLIED THAT CHINA'S POSITION ON NONPROLIFERATION - INCLUDING NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR CAPABILITY - WAS VERY CLEAR. CHINA DID NOT WANT "MASSIVE" PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS BECAUSE IT WAS NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF WORLD PEACE. TO CHINA, IT WAS

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"UNTHINKABLE" FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO EXIST ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. IF EITHER SIDE ACQUIRED NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IT COULD ELIMINATE THE OTHER. THE ISSUE OF KOREAN NUCLEAR CAPABILITY WAS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO CHINA THAN TO THE U.S., BECAUSE KOREA BORDERS CHINA AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS COULD POSE A POSSIBLE THREAT. QIAN ADDED THAT ON THE KOREAN ISSUE, CHINA'S OBJECTIVES WERE TWO-FOLD: KEEP THE KOREAN PENINSULA FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; AND MAINTAIN PEACE AND STABILITY THERE. QIAN BELIEVED THAT RECENT U.S.-NORTH KOREA TALKS HAD MADE PROGRESS. THE PROBLEM WAS NOT YET SOLVED, BUT QIAN BELIEVED THERE HAD BEEN A GOOD BEGINNING AND WAS HOPEFUL FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. HE STATED THAT CHINA WOULD NOT PROVIDE ANY NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY TO NORTH KOREA.

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THE "YIN HE" INCIDENT

15. QIAN THEN RAISED THE ON-GOING "YIN HE" INCIDENT - THE CHINESE MERCHANT VESSEL THE U.S. SUSPECTS OF CARRYING CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRECURSORS TO IRAN. REFLECTING COMMENTS ON THE "YIN HE" BY OTHER CHINESE OFFICIALS IN MEETINGS WITH CODELS DURING THE PAST WEEK, QIAN REITERATED CHINA'S POSITION THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS SATISFIED THERE WERE NO CW PRECURSORS ON BOARD THE SHIP. PURSUING THIS ISSUE FURTHER, QIAN ASKED REP. GLICKMAN IF THE HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE APPROVED THE INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS BUDGET OR MERELY SUPERVISED OPERATIONS. WHEN REP. GLICKMAN

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REPLIED THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS AND AUTHORIZED ITS BUDGET, QIAN COMMENTED THAT "OFTEN YOU HAVE MUCH INACCURATE INFORMATION FROM YOUR INTELLIGENCE" AND HOPED THE COMMITTEE WOULD ASK ITS INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES TO "DO A BETTER JOB." HE SAID THAT CHINA WAS NOT AFRAID OF AN INSPECTION OF THE "YIN HE" CARGO AND THAT THE RESULTS OF THE INSPECTION WOULD "PUT THE U.S. IN AN AWKWARD SITUATION."

16. REP. GLICKMAN RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT WHILE HE PERSONALLY DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS ON THAT SHIP, HE DID KNOW THERE WAS SOME EVIDENCE THAT CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRECURSORS WERE ON BOARD. AN INSPECTION WOULD SATISFY ALL OF US. IF THE U.S. WAS WRONG, IT WOULD DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE. BUT IF THE U.S. INFORMATION WAS CORRECT, WE WOULD HAVE STOPPED THESE CW PRECURSORS FROM GOING TO

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IRAN, WHICH THEY MIGHT HAVE USED. REP. GLICKMAN TOLD
QIAN THAT POSSIBILITY "SCARED THE LIVING DAYLIGHTS OUT
OF US AND SHOULD SCARE THE LIVING DAYLIGHTS OUT OF
CHINA." REP. GLICKMAN ADDED THAT, PRACTICALLY
SPEAKING, CHEMICAL WEAPONS WERE MORE LIKELY TO BE USED
THESE DAYS AS WEAPONS OF DESTRUCTION THAN NUCLEAR

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WEAPONS. CITING THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING IN NEW
YORK CITY, THE CONGRESSMAN TOLD QIAN THIS KIND OF
TERRORIST ACT AGAINST THE U.S. WAS PERPETRATED BY
SIMILAR ELEMENTS TO THOSE NOW TRYING TO ACQUIRE
CHEMICAL WEAPONS. THEREFORE, IT WAS UNDERSTANDABLE
THAT THE U.S. "IS A BIT SPOOKED". IN THIS REGARD, HE
HOPED THERE WERE NO CHEMICAL WEAPONS ON BOARD THE "YIN
HE," BUT IF THERE WERE AND THEY WERE STOPPED, WE MIGHT
HAVE AVERTED A DISASTER.

17. THIS MESSAGE WAS SEEN BY THE CODEL BEFORE
TRANSMISSION. ROY

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